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## Flegon iz Trala i fosili iz Dalmacije

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Članak donosi podatak iz djela grčkog pisca Flegona o tijelima u Artemidinoj pećini kod Splita čija rebra prelaze jedanaest kubita (oko 4,5 m). Spis pripada "paradoksografskoj" vrsti književnosti. Raspravlja se o autentičnosti podatka, odnosno radi li se o jednom od niza primjera senzacionalizma u toj vrsti antičke literature ili o donekle realnom izvješću koje sugerira arheološke, odnosno paleontološke nalaze. Takvi su nalazi u antičkom svijetu ponekad tumačeni mitologijom.

*Ključne riječi:* Flegon, paradoksografska književnost, Artemidina pećina, Dalmacija

## Phlegon of Tralles and fossils from Dalmatia

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The article contains data from the work of the Greek writer Phlegon on the bodies in the Artemis Cavern near Split, which had ribs exceeding 11 cubits (ca. 4.5 m) in length. This record is classified as a "paradoxographical" type of text. There is a discussion of the authenticity of this data, i.e., whether it is one of a series of examples of sensationalism in this type of ancient literature or a somewhat realistic report which suggests an archaeological, or rather paleontological find. Such finds in the ancient world were sometimes interpreted through the prism of mythology.

*Key words:* Phlegon, paradoxographical literature, Artemis Cavern, Dalmatia

Grčki pisac Flegon (punim imenom *P. Aelius Φλέγων*) bio je Hadrijanov oslobođenik, rodom iz grada Trala (*Tralles, Tralleis*) u Kariji u Maloj Aziji. Bizantski leksikon *Suda* (s.v. Φλέγων Τραλλιανός) pripisuje mu cijeli niz književnih djela. Najslavnije od njih poznato je pod nazivom *O dugovječnim ljudima i čudima* (Περὶ μακροβίων καὶ θαυμασίων) i sačuvano je u jednom bizantskom rukopisu iz posljednje četvrtine 9. st., koji se danas čuva u Heidelbergu.<sup>1</sup> Taj spis pripada u vrstu književnosti koju nazivamo paradoksografskom<sup>2</sup> i koja je bila silno popularna u 2. st. Čarobnjaci, vračevi, šarlatani, stručnjaci za kojekakva čudesa, bili su prave zvijezde, a tvrdi se i da je Hadrijan osobno bio veliki ljubitelj tih spisa. Opisivali su čuda i senzacije na način koji je ne jedan autor usporodio s današnjim tabloidima, ne samo zbog načina izražavanja nego i zato što su svi ti spisi pretendirali na istinitost svojih priča.<sup>3</sup> Flegon je radio kod Hadrijana na dvoru kao neka vrsta tajnika te je stoga kružio trač da je zapravo Car autor svih tih djela, koje je Flegon objavljivao pod svojim imenom (SHA, Aelius Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 16.1).<sup>4</sup> O Flegonovoj književnoj reputaciji mogli bismo zaključivati i po zločestom komentaru Juvenalovu (1.3.70) o doseljenicima iz Trala

The Greek writer Phlegon (full name *P. Aelius Φλέγων*) was a freedman of Hadrian, originally from Tralles (or Tralleis) in Caria in Asia Minor. The Byzantine encyclopaedia, the *Suda* (s.v. Φλέγων Τραλλιανός), attributes an entire series of literary works to him. The most famous of these was known under the title *On Long-lived Persons and On Marvels* (Περὶ μακροβίων καὶ θαυμασίων) and it has been preserved as a Byzantine manuscript from the final quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and today held in Heidelberg.<sup>1</sup> This document is classified as a type of literature called paradoxographical,<sup>2</sup> which was extremely popular in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Sorcerers, sages, charlatans and practitioners of all manner of wonders were its genuine stars, and it has been asserted that Hadrian was personally a great aficionado of such texts. They described miracles and sensations in a fashion that has been compared by more than one scholar to modern-day tabloids, not only because of their manner of expression but also because all of these texts insisted on the authenticity of their stories.<sup>3</sup> Phlegon worked in Hadrian's court as a sort of secretary, and as a result rumours had circulated that it was actually the emperor who wrote all of these works, and that Phlegon simply published them under his own name

- 1 Codex Palatinus Graecus 398, 216<sup>r</sup> – 236<sup>r</sup>: *Phlegon Trallianus, Mirabilia*. Faksimil rukopisa može se naći na <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/> (pristupljeno 1. 7. 2014.). Prvotisk je izdao Xylander u Baselu 1568., a onda ga je ponovo izdao Meursius u Leydenu 1619.-1620. Suidae *Lexicon*, ex recognitione Immanuelis Bekkeri, Berolini, Typis et impensis Georgii Reimeri, 1854. O Flegonu općenito Frank 1941, str. 261; Hansen 1996, *passim*.
- 2 Naziv "paradoksografi" nije antički, nego ga je Westermann upotrijebio u svojem izdanju *Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci*, 1839. Grci su u načelu rabili riječ *thaumásios* kako bi opisali tu vrstu literature. Ciceron (*Parad.* praef. 4) izvještava da su ono što su ostali zvali *admirabilia* stoici zvali *parádoksa* (*Œuvres complètes de Cicéron avec la traduction en français de M. Nisard*, I, Paris, Didot, 1869. <http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/orateurs/paradoxes.htm>, pristupljeno 4. 7. 2014.). Riječ se inače pojavila kod Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.35.151; 7.144, 642 id. (Ioannis Tzetzae *Historiarum variarum Chiliades*, Theophilus Kiesslingius, Lipsiae, Sumptibus Fr. Chr. Guil. Vogelii, 1826); Schmidt 1949, str. 1135; Ziegler 1949, str. 1137, 1157-1159. Na tome mjestu Ziegler navodi da je filologija s dosta prijezira gledala na paradoksografe i citira Christa i Schmidta koji kažu: "Uns erscheint diese ganze Schriftstellerei als ein Parasitengewächs am Baum der historischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Literatur". Vidi Christ & Schmidt 1912, str. 237.
- 3 Npr. Hansen 1996, str. 14; Shannon 2013.
- 4 Cuvier 1841, str. 284; Birley 1976, str. 74; Hansen 1996, str. 1-2; Shannon 2013, *passim*.

- 1 Codex Palatinus Graecus 398, 216<sup>r</sup> – 236<sup>r</sup>: *Phlegon Trallianus, Mirabilia*. A facsimile of the manuscript can be found at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/> (accessed on 1 July 2014). The first printing was published by Xylander in Basel in 1568, and it was then reissued by Meursius in Leyden in 1619-1620. Suidae *Lexicon*, ex recognitione Immanuelis Bekkeri, Berolini, Typis et impensis Georgii Reimeri, 1854. For more on Phlegon in general, Frank 1941, p. 261; Hansen 1996, *passim*.
- 2 The term "paradoxographers" is not ancient, rather Westermann used it in his publication *Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci* in 1839. The Greeks generally used the word *thaumásios* to describe this literary genre. Cicero (*Parad.* praef. 4) reported that what the rest called *admirabilia* was called by the Stoics *parádoksa* (*Œuvres complètes de Cicéron avec la traduction en français de M. Nisard*, I, Paris, Didot, 1869. <http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/orateurs/paradoxes.htm>, accessed 4 July 2014). The word otherwise appeared in the work of Tzetzes, *Chil.* 2.35.151; 7.144, 642 id. (Ioannis Tzetzae *Historiarum variarum Chiliades*, Theophilus Kiesslingius, Lipsiae, Sumptibus Fr. Chr. Guil. Vogelii, 1826); Schmidt 1949, p. 1135; Ziegler 1949, pp. 1137, 1157-1159. At this place, Ziegler noted that philology looked upon paradoxographers with considerable disdain, and cited Christ and Schmidt, who said: "Uns erscheint diese ganze Schriftstellerei als ein Parasitengewächs am Baum der historischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Literatur". See Christ & Schmidt 1912, p. 237.
- 3 E.g. Hansen 1996, p. 14; Shannon 2013.

koji su preplavili Rim i uvukli se u sve bolje rimske obitelji.<sup>5</sup>

Sasvim u skladu s književnom modom tog vremena, Flegon je pisao o neobičnim zgodama, čudnim ljudima, čudesnim životinjama, a poznat je uglavnom po zbirci "čuda iz zemlje", tj. čuda fosila. Divovske kosti, pronađene posvuda, oduševljavale su i njega i njegove čitatelje. Često su se te kosti smatrale ostacima nekadašnjih heroja i ljudi koji su nekoć bili mnogo viši u odnosu na suvremenike, pa su i po tome bili bliski bogovima.<sup>6</sup>

Dakako, nije Flegon izmislio taj način pisanja. On se poziva na svoje prethodnike svih žanrova – pisce proročanstava, paradoksografe poput Antigona iz Karista, pjesnike i ostale – i na njihove podatke te ih prenosi dalje. Mnogi su pisci bili fascinirani divovskim kostima pa je tako o njima ostalo spomena u izvorima. Goleme kosti, dužine 7 kubita, nađene u Tegeji, protumačene su kao posmrtni ostaci heroja Oresta i prenesene su u Spartu (Herod. 1.67-68).<sup>7</sup> Najslavniji nalaz vjerojatno su kosti s Krete, koje su identificirane kao Ot ili Orion (Solin. 1.91), ili divovske Tezejeve kosti (Plut. *Thes.* 35-36; Diod. 4.62.4; Paus. 1.176). Svetonije, na primjer, prenosi da je August imao zbirku kostiju divova i oružja heroja (*Aug.* 72). Cijeli katalog nalaza kostiju donosi Filostrat u djelu *Heroikos* (8) i taj je katalog veći nego bilo koji drugi popis čudesnih kostiju.<sup>8</sup> Drugi najveći popis nalaza takvih kostiju

(SHA, Aelius Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 16.1).<sup>4</sup> Phlegon's literary reputation may also be illustrated by Juvenal's malicious comment (1.3.70) about newcomers from Tralles who flooded Rome and infiltrated every finer Roman family.<sup>5</sup>

Entirely in line with the literary fashion of the times, Phlegon wrote about unusual events, odd people and strange animals, and he was generally best known for his collection of "wonders from the ground", i.e., the wonders of fossils. Gigantic bones, found everywhere, delighted both him and his readers. Often these bones were considered the remains of former heroes and men who were once taller in comparison to contemporary people, so that they were thus also closer to the gods.<sup>6</sup>

To be sure, Phlegon did not invent this form of writing. He cited his predecessors in all genres – writers of prophecies, paradoxographers such as Antigonos of Carystus, poets and others – and their texts, and he conveyed it farther. Many writers were fascinated with gigantic bones, so mention of them remained in the sources. Enormous, 7-cubit long bones found in Tegea were interpreted as the bodily remains of the hero Orestes and taken to Sparta (Herod. 1.67-68).<sup>7</sup> The most acclaimed find is probably the bones from Crete, which were identified as Otus or Orion (Solin. 1.91), or the giant bones of Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 35-36; Diod. 4.62.4; Paus. 1.176). Suetonius, for example, wrote that Augustus had a collection of giants' bones and heroes' weapons (*Aug.* 72). An entire catalogue of bone finds was provided by Philostratus in the work *Heroikos* (8) and this catalogue is larger than

5 *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae*, erklärt von Andreas Weidner, Teubner, Leipzig, 1889. Citirano kod Hansen 1996, str. 2.

6 French 1994, str. 300; Hansen 1996, str. 137-138. Sasvim u skladu s filologijom 19. st. Reinhard (1898, str. 331-332) je rekao za njega da je lakovjeran, bez moralnog pristupa, da nema ni zdravog razuma ni kritičnosti prema podacima, a kritiku suvremenika izbjegao je tako što je pisao na poticaj samog cara Hadrijana, pa se nitko nije usudio uputiti mu primjedbe. Tako su njegove bizarnosti dobile ozbiljan lik. Reinhard je zaboravio da je takva loša literatura obično silno zabavna i da ima mnogo oduševljenih čitatelja, koji se ne zamaraju moralnim prosudbama o prenošenju bizarnih podataka kao da su istina, pa i ne samo istina nego i viđeni vlastitim očima.

7 Herodot, *Povijest*, preveo i priredio Dubravko Škiljan, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 2000; Hansen 1996, str. 138.

8 C. Ivlii Solini *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, iterum recensuit Th. Mommsen, Berolini, apud Weidmannos, 1895; Plutarh, *Tesej*, prevod sa helenskog i predgovor dr. Ksenija Maricki Gađanski, Grafos, Beograd, 1987; Diodori Siculi *Bibliotheca historica*, ex recognitione Imm. Bekkeri, Teubner, Leipzig, 1853-1854; Pauzanija, *Vodič po Heladi*, preveo i komentarom popratio Uroš Pasini, Logos, Split, 1989; Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, translated by Robert Graves, Penguin

4 Cuvier 1841, p. 284; Birley 1976, p. 74; Hansen 1996, pp. 1-2; Shannon 2013, *passim*.

5 *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae*, erklärt von Andreas Weidner, Teubner, Leipzig, 1889. Cited in Hansen 1996, p. 2.

6 French 1994, p. 300; Hansen 1996, pp. 137-138. Entirely in line with 19th cent. philology, Reinhard (1898, pp. 331-332) said that he was gullible and lacked a moral approach and even common sense and a critical facility toward data, and that he avoided the criticism of his contemporaries by writing at the behest of Emperor Hadrian himself, so that nobody dared question him. His bizarre writings thus acquired a serious veneer. Reinhard forgot that such poor literature is normally quite entertaining and that it had many delighted readers, who were not bogged down by moral assessments on the conveyance of strange reports as though they were true, not only true but even seen with their own eyes.

7 Herodot, *Povijest*, preveo i priredio Dubravko Škiljan, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 2000; Hansen 1996, p. 138.

nalazi se kod Flegona iz Trala (*Mirab.* 11-19), ali njegov popis ne poklapa se ni sa čim što navode Filostrat ili Pauzanija. Iz toga je razvidno da su takvi katalozi kolali u antici, da ih je bilo više i da su se naši autori služili različitim izvorima.<sup>9</sup>

Jedan od tih Flegonovih bizarnih izvješća tiče se Dalmacije (*Mirab.* 12):

Ἐν Δαλματία τε ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
καλουμένῳ σπηλαίῳ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν πολλὰ  
σώματα, ὧν τὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς ὅστᾳ ὑπερβάλλει  
ἑκκαίδεκα πῆχεις.<sup>10</sup>

“U Dalmaciji se u pećini zvanoj Artemidina mogu vidjeti mnoga tijela čija rebra prelaze jedanaest kubi-  
ta (oko 4,5 m).”<sup>11</sup> To je sve. Nema drugih, detaljnijih podataka.

U literaturi se uglavnom provlači tvrdnja da se ta Artemidina, odnosno Dijanina pećina nalazila na obali mora u blizini Splita.<sup>12</sup> Disonantan glas je onaj Sergija Musitellija koji misli da je riječ o Postojni.<sup>13</sup> Prijedlozi za lociranje pećine počivaju na radovima velikog francuskog znanstvenika Georgesa Cuviera, koji je pisao da pećine na dalmatinskoj obali sadrže velike fosilne kosti. U radu iz godine 1800. Cuvier kaže da je vidio kosti iz stijena u Dalmaciji i da je vidio zube koji su mogli biti isti kao oni u jelena lopatara (*Dama dama*), iako su rogovi možda mogli biti različiti. Isto tako zna i za nalaze na dalmatinskim otocima, premda ih nikada nije vidio.<sup>14</sup> Kad je riječ o tim fosilima,

any other list of incredible bones.<sup>8</sup> The second-longest list of discoveries of such bones can be found in the work of Phlegon of Tralles (*Mirab.* 11-19), but his list does not correspond to anything cited by Philostratus or Pausanias. Thus, it is apparent that such catalogues had circulated during Antiquity, that there were more and that these writers used different sources.<sup>9</sup>

One of these bizarre reports by Phlegon concerns Dalmatia (*Mirab.* 12):

Ἐν Δαλματία τε ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος  
καλουμένῳ σπηλαίῳ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν πολλὰ  
σώματα, ὧν τὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς ὅστᾳ ὑπερβάλλει  
ἑκκαίδεκα πῆχεις.<sup>10</sup>

“In Dalmatia, in a cavern called Artemis, I can see many bodies whose ribs exceed eleven cubits (ca. 4.5 m).”<sup>11</sup> That is all. There are no other, more detailed data.

The relevant literature generally contains the claim that this cavern of Artemis, or Diana, was on the sea-shore near Split.<sup>12</sup> The only dissenting voice is that of Sergio Musitelli, who believes that it is a reference to Postojna.<sup>13</sup> Proposals for the location of the cavern rest on the works of the great French scientist Georges Cuvier, who wrote that the caverns on the Dalmatian coast contained large fossil bones. In a work published in 1800, Cuvier said that he saw bones protruding from a rock in Dalmatia and that he saw teeth that may have been the same as those of a fallow deer (*Dama dama*), although the horns may have been different. He similarly stated that he knew about finds on the Dalmatian islands, although he never saw them

Classics, Harmondsworth, 1957; Flavius Philostratus *Heroikos*, translated with an introduction and notes by Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean and Ellen Bradshaw Aitken; with a prologue by Gregory Nagy and an epilogue by Helmut Koester, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, 2001; Cuvier 1806, str. 4; Pfister 1912, str. 427; Bugler 1949, str. 271; Rusten 2004, str. 156.

9 Keller 1877, LXVII; Rusten 2004, str. 156.

10 *Paradoxographoi. Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci*, edidit Antonius Westermann, Brunsvigae & Londini, 1839, str. 136.

11 Pfister 1912, str. 427; French 1994, str. 300; Hansen 1996, str. 43; Mayor & Dodson 2001, str. 271.

12 Mayor & Dobson 2001, str. 331.

13 Musitelli 2014.

14 Rudwick 1997, str. 56: na ovome mjestu Rudwick donosi engleski prijevod spisa Georgesa Cuviera, *Extract from a work on the species of quadrupeds of which the bones have been found in the interior of the earth; addressed to savants and amateurs of the sciences, by G. Cuvier, member of the Institute, professor at the Collège de France and at the Panthéon central school*, printed on 26 Brumaire Year IX (17 November 1800): “3. The bones from the rocks of Dalmatia. I have seen some teeth from there that are exactly like those of the fallow deer (*daim*), but perhaps the animal differed in its antlers” .... “7. I have also heard or read accounts of

8 C. Ivlii Solini *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, iterum recensuit Th. Mommsen, Berolini, apud Weidmannos, 1895; Plutarh, *Tesej*, prevod sa helenskog i predgovor dr. Ksenija Maricki Gađanski, Grafos, Beograd, 1987; Diodori Siculi *Bibliotheca historica*, ex recognitione Imm. Bekkeri, Teubner, Leipzig, 1853-1854; Pauzanija, *Vodič po Heladi*, preveo i komentarom popratio Uroš Pasini, Logos, Split, 1989; Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, translated by Robert Graves, Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth, 1957; Flavius Philostratus *Heroikos*, translated with an introduction and notes by Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean and Ellen Bradshaw Aitken; with a prologue by Gregory Nagy and an epilogue by Helmut Koester, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, 2001; Cuvier 1806, p. 4; Pfister 1912, p. 427; Bugler 1949, p. 271; Rusten 2004, p. 156.

9 Keller 1877, LXVII; Rusten 2004, p. 156.

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11 Pfister 1912, p. 427; French 1994, p. 300; Hansen 1996, p. 43; Mayor & Dodson 2001, p. 271.

12 Mayor & Dobson 2001, p. 331.

13 Musitelli 2014.



Cuvier je smatrao da je problem u koštanoj breči. To je bio “stalaktitski” materijal mlađeg porijekla koji se nalazio u pukotinama pećina od znatno starijeg vapnenca. Cuvier je tako ustanovio da većina vrsta čije su kosti nalažene u breči još postoji i zato je mislio da su breče, premda vrlo stare u odnosu na ljudsku povijest, mnogo mlađe od slojeva u kojima se nalaze mamuti, koji su izumrli.<sup>15</sup> U tekstu o izumrlim slonovima Cuvier (1806, 4 i d.) je nabrojio nalaze golemih kostiju koji su registrirani u antici u Grčkoj, na Kreti, u Maloj Aziji, Africi, Italiji,<sup>16</sup> ali Flegonove kosti nije spomenuo u tom svom pregledu. Čini se kako nije smatrao da pripadaju stvarnosti, a kamoli mamutima. Na drugome mjestu Cuvier je detaljno raspravljao o antičkim fosilima i tu je pokazao sve svoje klasično obrazovanje.<sup>17</sup> U tom pristupu fosilima Cuvier je imao prethodnika, poput Fortisa, koji je po Dalmaciji proučavao fosile, a njegovo veliko djelo *Viaggio in Dalmazia* objavljeno je godine 1774.<sup>18</sup>

Moderna je literatura Flegonovu “pećinu zvanu Artemidina” smjestila kraj Splita, vjerojatno prema navodu iz Peutingerove karte (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, Codex Vindobonensis 324) gdje na Marjanu stoji navod: **Ad diana**.<sup>19</sup> To potječe još od Ivana Lučića, koji je smatrao da je riječ o lokaciji Sv. Jurja na Marjanu, te tvrdi da su se u njegovo vrijeme još vidjeli ostaci hrama na tom mjestu. Od tada nadalje to se smatralo gotovom činjenicom.<sup>20</sup> Točan lokalitet do danas nije ustanovljen niti je arheološki dokazan. Ipak, prema

himself.<sup>14</sup> When speaking of these fossils, Cuvier believed that the problem was in the bone breccia. This was “stalactite” material of more recent origin that was in the crevices of caverns formed from considerably older limestone. Cuvier thus ascertained that most species whose bones were found in breccia were still extant, and this is why he thought that breccia, although quite old in comparison to human history, was much younger than the layers containing mammoths, which were extinct.<sup>15</sup> In a text on extinct elephants, Cuvier (1806, 4 ff) listed the finds of immense bones recorded during Antiquity in Greece, on Crete, in Asia Minor, Africa and Italy,<sup>16</sup> but he did not mention Phlegon’s bones in this overview. It would appear that he did not deem them real, much less mammoths. At another place, Cuvier discussed fossils from Antiquity in detail, here demonstrating his classical education.<sup>17</sup> In this approach to fossils, Cuvier had predecessors, such as Fortis, who studied fossils in Dalmatia, and his major work *Viaggio in Dalmazia* was published in 1774.<sup>18</sup>

The modern literature places Phlegon’s “cavern called Artemis” next to Split, probably based on a notation from the Peutinger Table (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, Codex Vindobonensis 324) where on Marjan it reads: **Ad diana**.<sup>19</sup> This had its origins in the writings of Ivan Lučić, who believed that this was the Sveti Juraj (St. George) locale on Marjan Hill, and he claimed that in his time the remains of a temple at this site were still visible. This was henceforth deemed an

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a multitude of places where bones are said to be found, but of which I have seen none. Such are the various caves in the Crapac mountains, the Harz, the Dalmatian islands, the isle of Cerigo (Kythera)....”.

15 Rudwick 1997, str. 159.

16 Mayor & Dobson 2001, str. 5.

17 Cuvier 1812, str. 43 id.

18 Alberto Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*, priredio Josip Bratulić, Globus, Zagreb, 1984. Wolff 1998-1999, str. 160.

19 Turković 2010, str. 128.

20 Lucio 1674, I.3, str. 4: *Nell’Itinerario ritrouato da Conrado Peutingero in carta lunga e stretta con linee, e numeri molto più accuratamente vengono distinte le distanze trà un luogo, e l’altro con la figura di qualche duno; ma senza proportione alcuna delle longitudini, e latitudini solite osseruarsi da Geografi. Et in particolare, trà Epetio, e Tragurio sono così ben disposti i Siti de luoghi nominati, che par che l’Autore sia stato Salontano, e che li habbia voluto discriuere con accuratezza singolare; perciò hò copiato la figura come si troua, accioche posano osseruasi alcuni particolari, ch’in altri scrittori non si trouano, com’è il Porto col fiume vicino ad Epetio, il sito di Tragurio, e di Spalato con il tempio di Diana nella punta, ò ver Promontorio, che Marglian hoggi vien detto, le vestigie del quale ancora si vedono contigue alla Chiesa dedicata*

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14 Rudwick 1997, p. 56: here Rudwick provided an English translation of Georges Cuvier’s document, *Extract from a work on the species of quadrupeds of which the bones have been found in the interior of the earth; addressed to savants and amateurs of the sciences, by G. Cuvier, member of the Institute, professor at the Collège de France and at the Panthéon central school*, printed on 26 Brumaire Year IX (17 November 1800): “3. The bones from the rocks of Dalmatia. I have seen some teeth from there that are exactly like those of the fallow deer (*daim*), but perhaps the animal differed in its antlers” .... “7. I have also heard or read accounts of a multitude of places where bones are said to be found, but of which I have seen none. Such are the various caves in the Crapac mountains, the Harz, the Dalmatian islands, the isle of Cerigo (Kythera)....”.

15 Rudwick 1997, p. 159.

16 Mayor & Dobson 2001, p. 5.

17 Cuvier 1812, p. 43 id.

18 Alberto Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*, priredio Josip Bratulić, Globus, Zagreb, 1984. Wolff 1998-1999, p. 160.

19 Turković 2010, p. 128.

novim stavovima i istraživanjima, proizlazi da stavka na Peutingerovoj karti obilježava najvažnije priobalno svetište božice Dijane u Dalmaciji, starije od kasnoantičkog miljea koji je prisutan na tom itineraru.<sup>21</sup> Sve i da nije riječ o hramu, nego o nekoj drugoj vrsti konstrukcije,<sup>22</sup> toponim *Ad diana* svjedoči o štovanju božice na šumovitom poluotoku pokraj Splita, pejzažno idealnome mjestu za kretanje Dijane i njezine pratnje.<sup>23</sup> Moguće je stoga da se Flegonov navod zaista odnosi na neku pećinu u blizini Marjana ili na samom Marjanu.

U prilog ovoj raspravi išlo bi i to što pećine na Marjanu doista postoje, poput pećine sv. Jere koja se nalazi u blizini crkvice sv. Jere i gdje je u srednjem vijeku bila slavna eremitaža sv. Cirijska. Pećina je smještena u samim Šantanim stinama i zatvorena je zidom, a u njoj je vjerojatno bio oratorij sv. Cirijska, koji se spominje u 15. st. kao *Sti Cirijski in Grota Margnani* ili *Sti Chirijski de Mergnano*. Spominje ga već Toma Arhidakon (XVIII, 1-5) u 13. st. U blizini te pećine nalazi se još jedna, poznata kao Karepićeva kula, pregrađena godine 1523. u neku vrstu skloništa, na čijem se ulazu nalazi natpis obitelji Karepić.<sup>24</sup> Ne tako daleko od ove lokacije nalazi se već spominjana crkva sv. Jure uz koju je *Lucius* navodno vidio ostatke Dijanina hrama.

Naoko nema previše podataka o tajanstvenoj Flegonovoj napomeni o golemim rebrima, dužine preko četiri metra, vidljivima u Dalmaciji u "pećini zvanoj Artemidina", no pregled raspoloživih podataka pokazuje da je to zaista mogla biti pećina u blizini Splita. No još uvijek nemamo predodžbu o tome kakva su i čija rebra mogla biti tako izrazito vidljiva.

established fact.<sup>20</sup> The precise site has been neither ascertained nor archeologically proven to this day. However, according to more recent opinions and research, it follows that the notation on the Peutinger Table records the most important coastal shrine to the goddess Diana in Dalmatia, older than the Late Antique milieu present on this itinerary.<sup>21</sup> Even if it was not a temple, but some other type of structure,<sup>22</sup> the toponym *Ad diana* testifies to worship of the goddess on the wooded peninsula next to Split, a landscape ideally suited to the activity of Diana and her entourage.<sup>23</sup> It is therefore possible that Phlegon's notation truly pertains to some cave near or on Marjan itself.

This assertion is additionally backed by the fact that there truly are caverns on Marjan, such as the Sveti Jere (St. Jerome) Cave, near the small Church of St. Jerome, where the famed hermit Cyriacus resided in the Middle Ages. The cave is situated in the Šantine Stine rocks and is enclosed by a wall, and the oratorium of Cyriacus, which was mentioned in the 15<sup>th</sup> century as *Sti Cirijski in Grota Margnani* or *Sti Chirijski de Mergnano*. It was already mentioned by Thomas the Archdeacon (XVIII, 1-5) in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Near this cave, there is another, known as Karepićeva Kula, which was remodelled into a sort of shelter in 1523, with an inscription of the Karepić family at its

à S. Giorgio. Citirano i kod Turković 2010, str. 128 n. 2.

21 Turković 2010, str. 141.

22 Katić 1994.

23 O takvim rustičnim svetištima božice Dijane rasutim po krajoliku svjedoče mnogi antički izvori. Spomenimo samo neke: Diod. 4.22 (Diodori Siculi *Bibliotheca historica*, ex recognitione Imm. Bekkeri, Teubner, Leipzig, 1853-1854) ili Anth. Pal. 6. 111, 112, 121, 326 (*Anthologie Grecque* traduite sur le texte publié d'après le manuscrit palatin par Fr. Jacobs avec des Notices... Paris, Hachette, 1863. <http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/erudits/Anthologie/index.htm>, pristupljeno 6. 7. 2014). O toj temi opširnije Milićević Bradač 2005.

24 Thoma Archidiacon XVIII.1-5 (*Historia Salonitana Thomae Archidiaconi, Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum Pontificum*, Olja Perić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol & Radoslav Katičić, Književni krug, Split, 2003); Regan & Nadilo 2007, str. 816-817; *Park šuma Marjan: Kratka povijest Marjana*, <http://www.umas.hr/~icaljkus/marjan2014/>, pristupljeno 6. 7. 2014.

20 Lucio 1674, I.3, p. 4: "Nell'Itinerario ritrovato da Conrado Peutingero in carta lunga e stretta con linee, e numeri molto più accuratamente vengono distinte le distanze trà un luogo, e l'altro con la figura di qualcheduno; ma senza proportionione alcuna delle longitudini, e latitudini solite osseruarsi da Geografi. Et in particolare, trà Epetio, e Tragurio sono così ben disposti i Siti de luoghi nominati, che par che l'Autore sia stato Salonitano, e che li habbia voluto discrivere con accuratezza singolare; perciò hò copiato la figura come si troua, accioche posano osseruarsi alcuni particolari, ch'in altri scrittori non si trouano, com'è il Porto col fiume vicino ad Epetio, il sito di Tragurio, e di Spalato con il tempio di Diana nella punta, ò ver Promontorio, che Marglian hoggi vien detto, le vestigie del quale ancora si vedono contigue alla Chiesa dedicata à S. Giorgio." Cited also in Turković 2010, p. 128 n. 2.

21 Turković 2010, p. 141.

22 Katić 1994.

23 Many ancient sources testify to such rustic shrines to the goddess Diana scattered about the landscape. To mention only a few: Diod. 4.22 (Diodori Siculi *Bibliotheca historica*, ex recognitione Imm. Bekkeri, Teubner, Leipzig, 1853-1854) or Anth. Pal. 6. 111, 112, 121, 326 (*Anthologie Grecque* traduite sur le texte publié d'après le manuscrit palatin par Fr. Jacobs avec des Notices... Paris, Hachette, 1863. <http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/erudits/Anthologie/index.htm>, accessed 6 July 2014). For more on this theme, Milićević Bradač 2005.

Velikih je životinja u dalekoj prošlosti Dalmacije nedvojbeno bilo,<sup>25</sup> no pri ovom razmatranju ne bi trebalo ići dalje od geneze i moguće starosti špiljskih sedimenata, čime gotovo u potpunosti isključujemo mogućnost da se radilo o kostima dinosaura, koji su znatno ranije izumrli (zadnji prije oko 66 milijuna godina).<sup>26</sup> Premda nalaza izumrlih rilaša (mastodona/slonova/mamuta) u Dalmaciji ima već iz razdoblja donjeg pleistocena (Kninsko polje),<sup>27</sup> pa čak i starijih,<sup>28</sup> oni, kao i kasniji nalazi, nisu cjeloviti, a ni dimenzije rekonstruiranih rebara tih životinja ne bi dosežale spomenutu duljinu. Što se tiče nalaza u samim špiljama jasno je da ni jedna od životinja čiji su ostaci pronađeni u pleistocenskim ili holocenskim naslagama ne odgovara navedenim parametrima, odnosno nema nalaza kostiju toliko velikih životinja. Velike životinje čiji su ostaci pronađeni u Mujinoj pećini kod Kaštela bile su stepski bizon i medvjed.<sup>29</sup> One su primjerice manje od mamuta, a znatno manje od zagonetne životinje čije kosti spominje Flegon iz Trala. Na kostima stepskog bizona iz Mujine pećine pronađeni su tragovi rezanja.<sup>30</sup> Njegove kosti, kao i kosti ostalih pleistocenskih životinja iz špiljskih sedimenata vrlo su fragmentirane jer su bile izložene dugotrajnim procesima formiranja paleontoloških i arheoloških nalazišta te su na razgradnju trupala i pomicanje dijelova kostura utjecale zvijeri te geološki i drugi prirodni čimbenici. Štoviše, poput nalaza stepskoga bizona iz Mujine pećine, neki ulomci pleistocenskih kostiju pokazuju ostatke ljudske djelatnosti (mesarenje), što je zasigurno važan uzrok fragmentiranosti i prisutnosti samo nekih dijelova kostura. Zbog navedenih razloga cjeloviti kosturi rijetko se pronalaze. Iz pleistocenskog i holocenskog razdoblja nije poznat ni jedan nalaz životinje iz špilja istočnojadranskog područja koja bi imala rebra dužine približno 4 metra. Međutim, rebra takve dužine imaju najveći kitovi.<sup>31</sup> Lov na kitove prisutan je već tijekom prapovijesti u sjevernoj Europi,<sup>32</sup> a povezanost kitova (štoviše, arheoloških nalaza kitovih kostiju) s bičima iz grčke mitologije (napose Ketom) prilično je utemeljena i dobro obrađena tema.<sup>33</sup> Moguće je da se, s obzirom na navedenu veličinu rebara, radilo o ostacima kita u Artemidinoj pećini, za što međutim ne postoje

entrance.<sup>24</sup> Not far from this locale is the already mentioned Church of St. George, where Lucius said he allegedly saw the remains of Diana's temple.

There is apparently little to be found to substantiate Phlegon's mysterious assertion about gigantic ribs, over four meters long, visible in Dalmatia in "a cavern called Artemis", but an overview of the available data shows that there truly could have been a cave near Split. But there is still no indication of the type of ribs that could have been so markedly visible.

There were doubtlessly large animals in Dalmatia in the distant past,<sup>25</sup> although in this study we need not look farther than the genesis and possible age of the cave sediments, which almost entirely exclude the possibility that these were dinosaur bones, as they had gone extinct much earlier (the last ones approximately 66 million years ago).<sup>26</sup> Although there are finds of extinct proboscideans (mastodons/elephants/mammoths) in Dalmatia already from the lower Pleistocene (Kninsko polje),<sup>27</sup> and even older ones,<sup>28</sup> they, like the later finds, are not whole, and in any case the dimensions of the reconstructed ribs of these animals would not match the aforementioned length. As to the finds in actual caves, it is apparent that not one animal whose remains were found in Pleistocene or Holocene layers corresponds to the aforementioned parameters, i.e., no bones of such large animals were ever found. The large animal remains found in Mujina Pećina cave at Kaštela belonged to the steppe bison and bear.<sup>29</sup> These are, for the sake of illustration, smaller than the mammoth, and considerably smaller than the mysterious animal whose bones were mentioned by Phlegon of Tralles. Traces of cutting were found on the steppe bison bones from Mujina Pećina.<sup>30</sup> Its bones, like the bones of the other Pleistocene animals from cave sediments, are very fragmentary, because they were exposed to the long-lasting processes of formation of paleontological and archaeological sites, and the decomposition of the carcasses and movement

25 Malez 1961.

26 Zahvaljujemo paleontolozima Jadranki Mauch Lenardić i Goranu Gužvici na iskazanom mišljenju o ovoj temi.

27 Malez 1979, str. 58.

28 Mauch Lenardić 2012.

29 Miracle 2005.

30 Miracle 2005; Karavanić *et al.* 2008.

31 Usmeno priopćenje Vladimira Golubića.

32 Clark 1947.

33 Papadopoulos & Ruscillo 2002; Jaffe 2013.

24 Thoma Archidiacon XVIII.1-5 (*Historia Salonitana Thomae Archidiaconi, Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum Pontificum*, Olja Perić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol & Radoslav Katičić, Književni krug, Split, 2003); Regan & Nadilo 2007, pp. 816-817; *Park šuma Marjan: Kratka povijest Marjana*, <http://www.umas.hr/~icaljkus/marjan2014/>, accessed 6 July 2014.

25 Malez 1961.

26 We would like to thank palaeontologists Jadranka Mauch Lenardić and Goran Gužvica for their thoughts on this topic.

27 Malez 1979, p. 58.

28 Mauch Lenardić 2012.

29 Miracle 2005.

30 Miracle 2005; Karavanić *et al.* 2008.

pouzdati pokazatelji. Premda povjerenje u istinitost paradoksografske literature nije veliko i koliko god bi mogla biti riječ o pukom izmišljanju, geografski okvir poprilično je jasan, pa bi možda i preostali dio izvješća barem donekle mogao biti utemeljen na nekim pričama “iz autopsije”, ali čije? Neke stvarne kosti u priči koja ide od usta do usta poprimaju sve veće dimenzije i onda u djelu pisca koji zabavlja samog cara, dosegnu 4 metra. No važno je vidjeti da se provincija Dalmacija našla i u jednom katalogu čudovišnih kostiju.

of components of their skeletons were influenced by other animals and geological and other natural factors. Moreover, like the steppe bison finds from Mujina Pećina, some fragments of Pleistocene bones exhibit evidence of human activity (butchery), which is certainly a reason for their fragmentary nature and the presence of only some parts of the skeletons. This is why whole skeletons are rarely found. There are no known animal finds from caves in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard dating to the Pleistocene and Holocene eras that would have had ribs roughly 4 meters long. However, the largest whales do have ribs of this length.<sup>31</sup> Whaling had already been present in northern Europe in prehistory,<sup>32</sup> and the link between whales (moreover, archaeological finds of whale bones) with the creatures from Greek mythology (especially Ketos) is a rather well-grounded and thoroughly-examined theme.<sup>33</sup> It is possible that, given the alleged size of the ribs, there were whale remains in Artemis Cave, although there are no reliable indicators for this. Even though confidence in the accuracy of paradoxographical literature is not high, and however much they may simply be a confabulation, the geographic framework is rather clear, so perhaps the remainder of this report may have been based on some stories “from the scene”, but whose? Some genuine bones in a story that travelled from mouth to mouth acquired increasingly larger dimensions and then made their way into the work of a writer who entertained the emperor himself, and acquired a length of 4 meters. But the important thing is that the province of Dalmatia was incorporated into a catalogue of monstrous bones.

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31 Oral information from Vladimir Golubić.

32 Clark 1947.

33 Papadopoulous & Ruscillo 2002; Jaffe 2013.



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